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Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

832

The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

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In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

262
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After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood. Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor.

In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks [80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Quechksapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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a yard apiece. At last, when the shadow of a person is nearly under him, that is, about noon, the speaker or chief arises, and says, "All of us kinfolk must now go out and end our meeting, which has been going on for twelve days and nights." Thereupon they all file out—men, women, and children—and form a row extending north and south, facing east, just east of the Big House, the hunters taking with them the skins of the deer they killed.

FINALE

Here they all pray, or rather cry the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" six times standing, holding up one hand, and six times kneeling, holding up the other hand. The meeting is then ended. This is shown in the frontispiece. The deerskins are given to poor old people, who need them to make moccasins.

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One informant stated that instead of crying "*Ho-o-o*" twelve times in closing the meeting, it was customary to use this word only ten times, and then cry "*Ha-a-a*" twice, completing the sacred number twelve;

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

of ceremony; (*f*) relaxation for ensuing period of night in social dances and amusements. 796x

Wampum Compensation.—Gift of yard-length of wampum, "shoulder to finger-tip," to officers and assistants as spiritual compensation and symbol of blessing for their holy services. Wampum remains only in circulation for payment of offices in religious ceremonies for their maintenance, not as an economic medium of exchange.

Ceremonial Equipment.—Drums (dried deer hide folded and water-drum), rattles (tortoise shell containing pebbles), feathers for sweeping away spiritual obstacles, dried juniper incense, ceremonial smoking tobacco, grease for drinking, sacred cornmeal and wild meat (or accepted substitute to suit modern conditions), original Delaware dress and ornamentation of participants, red paint (*pe'kɔn*), and symbolical fires. *The Delaware pattern is inclined to the use of carved images of the human face and form, either as masks, effigy figures or face sculpturings.*

Symbol of Twelve.—In division of ceremony into periods, in repetition of movements, in ceremonial equipment, the number twelve is a base concept of procedure, deriving itself evidently from the lunar cycle. [801]

Religious Attitude.—Deep feeling of humility and unworthiness, constantly reiterated appeal to Great Spirit through the spirit-forces (mani'tu) controlling departments of the universe, for general blessings of health, protection and sustenance, with sincere expressions of gratitude for the blessings of nature hitherto enjoyed, reverence for ancestral institutions, foods and inventions and appeal to spirits of deceased to be present upon ceremonial occasions to enjoy them and grant immunity from spiritual infections of sickness and evil.

Social Aspects.—The solidification of Delaware nationality through coöperation and participation in the social events, dances and amusements, as well as in the religious unity fostered through the carrying out of rites and institutions originating among sanctified generations of the past. The unity of the ceremonial groupings (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey) composing the Delaware tribe is strengthened by 796x 182

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 776 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened.
773 One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time,
539 and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[6] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

X 776 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers
● [801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[6] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario,[1] furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

[1] Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1(1888), 40.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer, N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, j. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

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• The Delawares also point out the occurrence of thirteen plates in the carapace and twelve in the plastron of all the members of the American tortoises and turtles, bordered by twelve marginal plates on each side. Another evidence in native thought of the tortoise as being a living symbol of the Universe.

Again we hear of a medicine compound prepared from twelve different herbal ingredients employed by the Delawares to cleanse them from sin.[1]

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The prominence of the twelve concept as a unit of time in Delaware chronology of ritual is not to be overlooked, for we learn in the ruling of the funeral ceremony that the first post-mortem rites are performed twelve days after the day of demise, and that the concluding ceremony is carried out the twelfth moon after the event.

Of great interest also is the fact that the Delaware finds symbolical illustration of the concept of the twelve strata of heavens in the occurrence of twelve tail feathers in the plumage system of the birds. The allegory is carried out in the Peyote ceremony as performed by the Delawares, in the particular rite that is called the Young Men's Meeting. On this occasion, twelve sticks, six on each side, are used in building the fire near the center of the Peyote lodge, the fire being the symbol of the moon. A mound of earth, with the arrangement of the sticks referred to, forms the symbolical outline of the body and tail of the eagle. And when these twelve sticks burn down they leave twelve stumps again representing the tail feathers of the eagle. The Peyote rites of different groups vary in many particulars, a comparison of which would determine whether or not the above is exclusively a Delaware belief injected into the now widespread Peyote cult.

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Before leaving the discussion of the number concept, it should be noted that the formal expression denoting twelve in the ceremonial vernacular is archaic; ata'x ok ni'ca, "ata'x, (ten) and two," instead of "te'l-on, (ten) and two." Delaware tradition informs us that ata'x is an ancient term for ten prescribed by usage in the ceremony while in common speech te'l-on denotes ten. In looking over earlier Delaware vocabularies we find the use of the common term indicated through the period of early contact in vocabularies recorded by Campanius (1645), Thomas (1695), Ziesberger (1750), Whipple (1855), in which the cognates are *Thaeren, Telen, Tellen, Telen.*[2] In a Delaware vocabulary taken down in New Jersey (1792) attributed to Thomas Jeffer-

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] Brinton I, p. 96. Comparative vocabularies from these sources are quoted. In a Swedish source, attributed to Campanius (Lutheri Catechismus öfwersatt på American-Virginiste Språtet, Stockholm, (1696), the form thaeren is given for "ten." Swedish, like Delaware, has in its recent development, under a change producing an *l* from the earlier *r* which in both instances may have had an *l* quality (Dr. A. J. Upvall). See also Amandus Johnson, Geographia Americae, op. cit., 289.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

son, the same form (*tillwun*) occurs.[1] The same term for the decimal occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and eastern Algonkian tongues.[2] Is it reasonable then to consider the form ata'x as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term ke'k[w], a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term woba'bi[3] that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentious medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.[4] And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.[5]

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

[1] Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

[2] The wide diffusion of the cognates of tel-on is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, moda'la, Montagnais-Naskapi, kota'l-nu.

[3] Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

[4] F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian." Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass., vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

[5] F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 2, Mus. Amer. Ind., (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

also are supplied with an officer to protect us. And my kindred, it is evident that we have help since this Delaware conduct in ceremony is everywhere known since ancient times from place to place as the Delewares migrated. Because truly indeed, in the ancient world since the beginning of the earth was made by the Great Spirit back in the land of the sunrise on the coast where lived our deceased ancesters. Wherefore all of this should delight us because tomorrow is a new day and before we reach noon-time[1] we must complete the service.[2]

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[1] For the ceremony to extend over noontime of the next day would bring it into the thirteenth day, by which the concept of "twelve," symbolizing the progress of the ceremony through the twelve heavens to the abode of the Great Spirit, would be broken.

[2] After the delivery of this address the women and young men prepare for the aa'teho'mwi·n.

The old women who have had any spiritual experiences are usually expected to take part first. They are given the preference. The turtle-rattle, to begin with, remains before the master of ceremonies. The old woman who has decided to dance takes the turtle and walks out into the path in front of the master-of-ceremonies. The man who has been decided upon to help the women and the young men is standing there also and when the woman takes the rattle he takes his place at her left and his assistant behind him also with a rattle.

They then begin dancing around the 'White Path,' she singing her chant. Any one present can now join in the dance, with the exception of children. They pass around the 'White Path' stopping at the usual intervals between the songs. (This is done to give opportunity for a short rest). Thus they move two abreast, the men dancers behind the male leader and his assistant, the women dancers behind the woman who is singing. There are speeches made by these women as in the case of the men of the preceding nights. They make the circuit around once, stopping before the master of ceremonies where they began. (For songs see Appendix note 1).

Any young women or young men who feel the impulse to try out a song they may have acquired perform in the way just described.

If any one, moreover, should desire to lead a dance but does not feel able to do it himself or herself, he may induce one of the men who have recited their visions to lead the dance in their place. This is called "hiring," dalow-kaa'la ndoll.' li-kaa'kwun, literally "hiring some one to support one." The employer in such a case derives spiritual benefit the same as though he had led the dance himself. The payment for this service is an arm-length of wampum.

At the end of which the Attendants bring in hominy and meat which is divided among those wishing to eat. The hides of such deer as have been killed are given to the old women, generally to those who have recited their vision chants on the evening before.